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JAMES DICKIE

(Yaqub Zaki)

THE MUGHAL GARDEN: GATEWAY TO PARADISE

Properly speaking, Mughal, which means “Mongol,” is in this context a misnomer. “Mughal” refers here to the name of the dynasty founded by Babur after the Battle of Panipat in 1526, which endured, in attenuated form, until 1857. Queen Victoria feloniously crowned herself Empress of India in 1876, at the adroit suggestion of Disraeli, but the style persisted even under alien rule.

First of the Great Mughals—the name applied to the six brilliant emperors who filled the 180 years after 1526 with their glittering achievements—was Babur, who was Mongol on his mother’s side and Turkish on his father’s. Babur was sixth in the line of descent from Tamerlane, while his mother was descended of Chengiz: thus the blood of Asia’s two greatest conquerors conmingled to produce a third, the conqueror of India. Like his near contemporary, Mehmed II, conqueror of Constantinople, Babur was no mere simple soldier but the highly complex product of a complex civilization at its zenith. His *Memoirs*, which have been translated into English by Annette Beveridge, are accounted a literary masterpiece. Lane-Poole, in his biography of Babur, published in 1900, says:

The line of Emperors who proceed from Babur’s loins is no more. The very name of Mongol has lost its fame on the banks of Iaxartes; the Turk is the servant of the Russian he once despised. The last Indian sovereign of Timur’s race ended his inglorious career an exile at Rangoon almost within our own memory; a few years later the degenerate descendants of Ghengis Khan submitted to the officers of the Tsar. The power and pomp of Babur’s dynasty are gone; the record of his life—the *litterata scripta* that mocks at time—remains unaltered and imperishable.¹

These *Memoirs* are eminently quotable: “Then” says Babur, “in that charmless and disorderly Hindustan, plots of garden were laid out with order and symmetry, with suitable borders and parterres in every corner and in every border rose and narcissus in perfect arrangement.”² Babur is referring to his own activities as landscape gardener, but before touching on these a quota-

tion from Yeats’s *The Statues* might throw some light on the subject:

No! Greater then Pythagoras, for the men
That with a mallet or a chisel modelled these
Calculations that look but casual flesh, put down
All Asiatic vague immensities
And not the banks of oars that swan upon
The many-headed form at Salamis.
Europe put off that foam when Phidias
Gave women dreams and dreams their looking-glass.

What Yeats is doing here is to oppose the rational mind of Europe to the vague, nebulous philosophy of Hinduism (“All Asiatic vague immensities”), and the reason for citing him here is because across four centuries his verses echo Babur’s complaint about that “charmless and disorderly Hindustan,” which, to make tolerable, he had to plant with gardens exhibiting “order and symmetry.” This is precisely the function of art: art organizes reality; by imposing order on the undifferentiated chaos of experience it succeeds in raising it to a higher level of significance, producing in the process, beauty. What emerges from this and other passages in the emperor’s *Memoirs* is the image of Babur as *muhandis* (geometer/architect/engineer), Babur as Cartesian almost. The civilization of which Babur was the vehicle was the Timurid civilization of Central Asia. The sensational conquests of his great ancestor over a century before had brought together Central Asia, North India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor in a single empire with its capital at Samarqand, and subsequently Herat. To his metropolis, Tamerlane transported artists and craftsmen from all over Asia, and there under Arab, Persian, Central Asian, and even Chinese influence Islamic civilization assumed its decisive form.

One art which flourished notably at the Timurid court was the art of landscape design. We know the names of the gardens which adorned Samarqand in the fifteenth century—the Bah-i-Naqsh Jehan, the Bagh-i-Shimal, the Bagh-i-Bihist, the Bagh-i-Boland, the

Bagh-i-Naw, the Bagh-i-Channar, the Bagh-i-Dilkusha, the Bagh-i-Dulday, and the Bagh-i-Jehanuma—but not the reality, because gardening is of its very nature the most transient and evanescent of art forms. Contemporary accounts exist though, notably by the Spanish ambassador Clavijo. The garden type that we think of today as characteristically Islamic is in fact the Timurid garden. What Islamic gardens were like before Timurid times we have little means of knowing and, save for the Hispano-Arab garden, no examples. The scant evidence suffices, however, to prove that a basic pattern prevailed from the shores of the Atlantic to the Bay of Bengal. This tradition, in its Timurid expression, bifurcated, going south to produce the Persian garden and east to produce the Mughal garden. The attempt to introduce the lush gardens of Central Asia into the dusty plains of Hindustan produced a hybrid, or mutation; and this mutation, the Indo-Islamic garden, is still a living art form, as evidenced by the garden Lutyens's coadjutor, W. R. Mustoe, of the Horticultural Department, designed for the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, as well as by the new garden in the Lawrence Gardens (Jinnah Bagh) at Lahore.

The reason the Timurid garden could not be transplanted without suffering transformation is very simple. Central Asia is mountainous country, and the Timurid or Persian garden is laid out on a gentle slope so the water moves through gravity; alternatively, it is disposed on a graduated series of terraces, a solution the Mughals were to adopt wherever feasible, as in Kashmir. In a very penetrating passage, Wilber writes:

The basic fact was that the gardens of Herat and Samarkand could not be transferred to the Indian plains. The climate was not suitable for orchards and vineyards, which require a cold season to establish a dormant state in the plants and trees. In the mountainous regions the fine gardens had been the outgrowth of the *bustan*, or orchard, and the concept of the *gulistan*, or flower garden, matured at a later date. Lacking the possibility of producing dense, productive orchards, the Indian gardens developed towards great open spaces and wide expanses of water.⁷³

Nevertheless, certain elements were exportable: the *chaharbagh*, or fourfold plot; the water channels and irrigation system, which, linked to the fourfold plot, produces a formal geometrical grid pattern capable of indefinite extension; also, the disposition of the garden on terraces and disparity in level between the elements of the grid and the flowerbeds they enclose. Most of these components are present in what is practically the only

one of Babur's gardens in India to survive, the Ram Bagh, which still exists, albeit more than a little disheveled, on the banks of the Jumna at Delhi. It was in this garden that Babur was buried in 1530, his remains being subsequently translated to Kabul according to his wish.

Since the Ram Bagh is not only the earliest Mughal garden extant but one of the very first ever to have been constructed, despite subsequent modification we may take it as prototypal. Here the paved walkways (*khayaban*) are raised some ten feet above the level of the beds, and since the original planting has perished the reason for this may appear somewhat obscure. Susan Jellicoe contends that the height above the flowerbeds varied according to what was intended to be planted in the garden: thus some gardens were quite shallow while others, like Akbar's garden at Sikandra (plate 1), were very deep.⁴ It is essential to understand that the Islamic garden was intended to be looked down upon.⁵ But in the latter example steps flanking the *abshars*, or water chutes, down which the water cascaded from the causeways show that the parterres were designed to be generally accessible. Thus the Indo-Islamic garden operated simultaneously on two levels: visually, on the upper level, as a living carpet; and, sensually, on a lower plane, as a place of shade and intimacy and cool repose. It could only operate visually as a floral carpet or tactually as a refuge from the scorching heat provided the planting was dense. The large painting on linen showing an aerial view of Jehangir's garden at Shahdara at Lahore, now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, reveals just how dense the planting was (plate 2).⁶ Unfortunately our image of a Mughal garden today is formed by the visual clichés of India Tourist Office posters of the Taj Mahall. We forget the old photographs show it looking quite different, before Lord Curzon gave the neglected gardens the semblance of an English lawn. As such, the cost of maintenance is prohibitive, which is why, apart from the Taj and the Shalimar and Jehangir Baghs in Lahore, no Mughal garden today is properly maintained. Had we but the sense to revert to the Mughal system of gravitational irrigation, whereby the beds are periodically flooded, then the trees and shrubbery would protect the grass with their shade.⁷ Volwahren writes:

A modern irrigation system could only temporarily stop such vast lawns being scorched by the blazing sun. A genuine Mughal garden, forming an architectonic unit with the mausoleum, could not be maintained today, for the simple reason it would need too much water. As a



Plate 1. Sikandra. Akbar's mausoleum. Mughal tombs look their best from the roof of the gateway. (Unless otherwise stated, all photographs are by the author.)

result the harsh silhouette of the building stands in too sharp contrast to the green lawns. It was originally envisaged that above a swirling mass of flowers, fruit trees and fountains, situated at different levels, the white dome of the tomb should stand forth, supported by the façades, with their red and white casing; in this way there would be a masterly transition from the many-coloured diversity of the garden to the simple symbolism of the marble dome.⁸

It helps if we try to imagine the Taj as it was originally intended to be seen: one would catch glimpses of the dome above fronds and branches; and with the oranges hanging like globes of fire amidst the rich green foliage against the peerless white dome the effect of such beauty must have been almost painful.

Transition in level in a Mughal garden is effected by the *abshars*. Since the Muslim mind apprehends reality in terms of pattern, the surface of the water chute is inlaid with chevrons to emphasize the movement of the water, or carved in a fish-scale pattern to produce a rip-

pling, corruscating effect; in a word, the water becomes a liquid arabesque. Thus the water links dynamically the two levels; the upper, or tectonic; the lower, or vegetal. Jellicoe stated at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium in 1974 that in a Mughal garden the water is perhaps even more important than the soil. It is difficult to quarrel with this conclusion: the mobile qualities of water modify the different spatial relationships that exist between the various parts of the garden, emphasizing and, at the same time, loosening the rigidity of the plan. The soil is static, as is the stonework, while the water and the plants are kinetic, but in the garden their relationship becomes symbiotic. Where the causeways intersect there can be either a pool or fountain, or both combined, or a *chabutra*, a stone or brick platform. The *chabutra* serves to provide an elevation for the throne, raising its occupant above the level of common humanity. Alternatively, it may serve as a plinth (*kursi*) for a

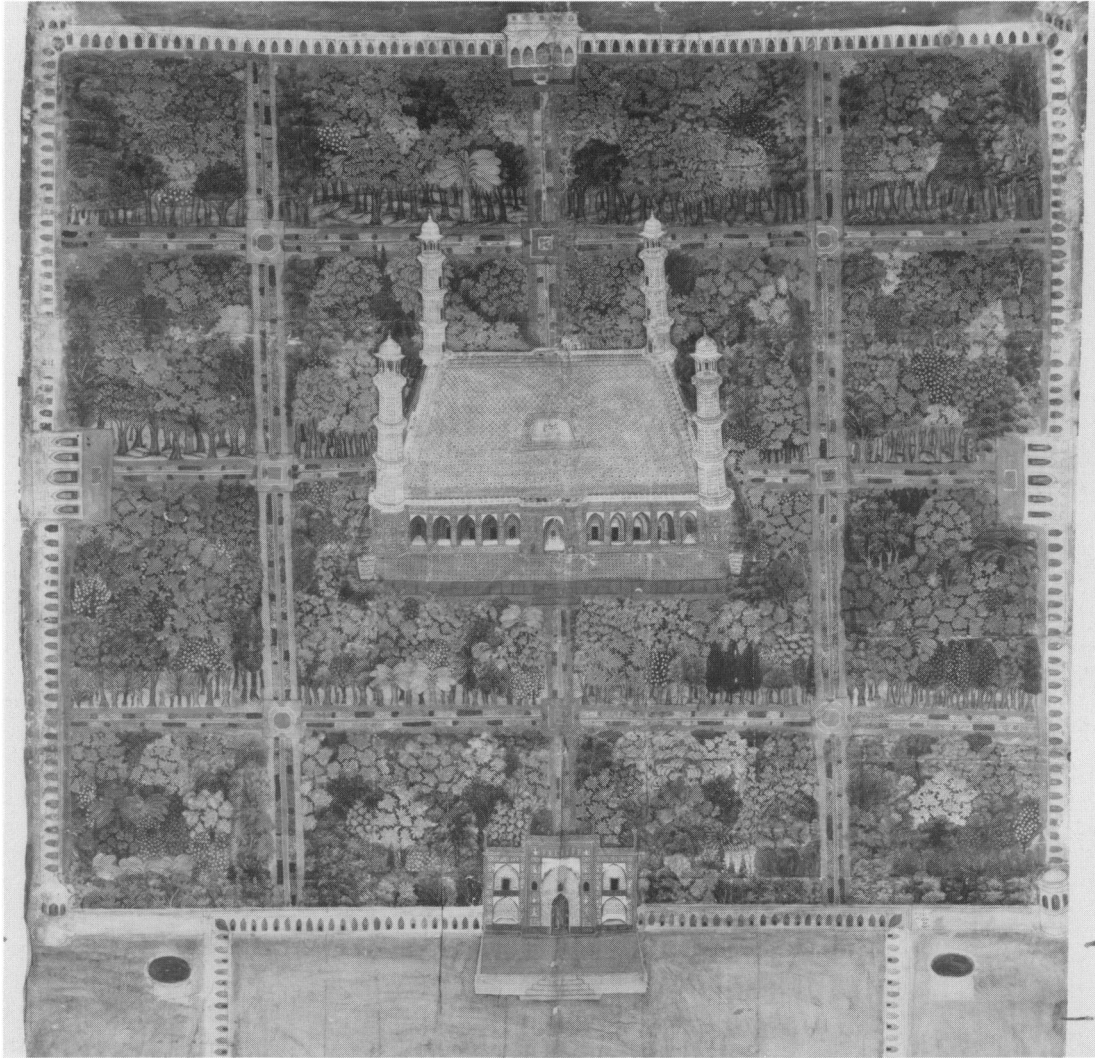


Plate 2. Lahore, Shahdara. Bagh-i Dilkusha (funerary garden of Jehangir). Eighteenth-century representation on linen.
(Photo: courtesy Royal Asiatic Society, London.)

baradari, or open-sided pavilion. *Bara* means twelve and refers here to a three-by-three module in which four walls are each pierced with three doors. The lateral openings can be converted into windows by the insertion of *jalis*, perforated stone or marble screens which admit light and air but temper the brilliance of the former by filtering it. As the light penetrates a *jali* it projects the same image in shadow on the floor or opposite wall, so that, like water passing over an *abshar*, light becomes a medium for pattern. The pavilion crowns the axes triumphantly, so that the axes intersect

within the *baradari*; at the precise point where they cross is the spot on which the fortunate owner of such a *demesne* often elects to be buried.

Properly to understand the notion of burial in a garden, we have to site it within an eschatological framework. Islam conceives of paradise as a garden, the Koranic term being *al-janna*, i.e., *the Garden*, the garden *par excellence*. Burial in a garden amounts to a material anticipation of immaterial bliss, and the closer the garden approximates the Koranic model the more effective is the analogy. A Mughal garden, populated

with nard-anointed houris and the air balmy from the perfume of too many flowers, must have approximated the divine archetype pretty closely. So much for the principle, but with reference to the particulars of the custom one could hardly do better than quote from Fergusson:

The usual procedure for the erection of these structures is for the king or noble who intends to provide himself with a tomb to enclose a garden outside the city walls, generally with high, crenellated walls, and with one or more splendid gateways; and in the centre of this he erects a square or octagonal building, crowned by a dome, and in the more splendid examples with smaller, dome-roofed apartments on four of the sides or angles, the other four being devoted to entrances. This building is generally situated on a lofty square terrace, from which radiate four broad alleys, generally with marble-paved canals, ornamented with fountains; a mosque is an essential adjunct; the angular spaces are planted with cypresses and other evergreens and fruit trees, making up one of those formal but beautiful gardens so characteristic of the East. During the lifetime of the founder, the central building is called a *Bara-dari*, summer house or festal hall, and is used as a place of recreation and feasting by him and his friends.

At his death its destination is changed—the founder's remains are interred beneath the central dome. Sometimes his favourite wife lies with him; but more generally the family and relations are buried under the collateral domes. When once used as a place of burial its vaults never again resound with festive mirth. The care of the building is handed over to priests and faquirs, who gain a scanty subsistence by the sale of the fruits of the garden, or the alms of those who come to visit the last resting-place of their friend or master. Perfect silence take the place of festivity and mirth. The beauty of the surrounding objects combines with the repose of the place to produce an effect as graceful as it is solemn and appropriate.⁹

Elsewhere I wrote of such places that when “a mausoleum stands in isolation within a funerary garden the effect is incomparable: aesthetically and conceptually, it transports the beholder to the frontier of emotional experience.”¹⁰ The funerary garden is Islam's answer to the grim realities of death. Horace Walpole, extolling the beauties of the mausoleum at Castle Howard, said that it “would tempt one to be buried alive”; and of the cemetery of the Acattolici in Rome Shelley wrote that it “might make one in love with death, to think that one could be buried in so sweet a place.” The latter sentiment is closer to the Islamic: wandering about in these places, sense impressions proceeding from colors, sounds, and perfumes, and even such things as the sight of parakeets flying among the trees, crowd in upon one and so work upon the mind that death comes to seem attractive even. In a bid at a further dimension of ex-

perience, odoriferous plants such as jasmine figure prominently in the overall planting scheme, as the sense of smell is notoriously evocative, the merest suggestion of a particular scent being sufficient to set in motion an entire train of associations.

Certain phrases in Fergusson's description call for comment. Burial under collateral domes explains the ground plan of the Taj, which goes back to a Central Asian prototype, whose lineal descendant in Persia is the Hasht Bihisht palace in Isfahan. The model for the Taj was of course Humayun's tomb,¹¹ but the plan of I'timad al-Daula's tomb, which belongs to another type, the tiered mausoleum, incorporates the same provision for subsidiary burial. It is highly probable that such buildings were intended as dynastic mausolea, exactly like Augustus's mausoleum at Rome. The reference to the economics of the garden makes an important point: horticulture was unknown in India before the Muslim invasion, and the funerary garden is necessarily an autarchic concept, since its purpose is to perpetuate a memory *indefinitely*. Every tomb requires a *mujawir*, or custodian, who, with his family, lives off the produce of the surrounding garden. The idea of the garden as something ornamental and afunctional came in with the Renaissance; the ancient world had no conception of the garden as presently understood. Islam remains faithful to the older and Roman idea of the *hortus*.

At one time such gardens proliferated outside every Mughal city; they stretched along the banks of the Jumna at Agra and Delhi, while in Lahore they flanked the banks of the Ravi and lined the Grand Trunk Road as it approached the walled city (plate 3). For Kashmir, where three great royal gardens survive, sources give the somewhat improbable figure of 777.¹² Funerary gardens are also to be found at Allahabad and Aurangabad. But perhaps the best place to see the sort of thing Fergusson is thinking of is Agra, where on the

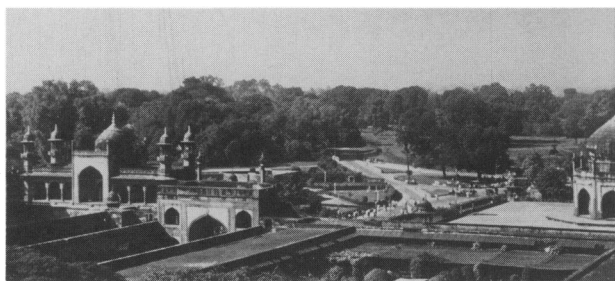


Plate 3. Agra. Funerary gardens lining the left bank of the Jumna. View taken from the gateway of the Taj.

outskirts of the city magnificent masterpieces of Islamic architecture crumble to decay. In one case the floor of the pavilion has collapsed, and one can look straight down into the vault, disclosing the burial, marked by a *ta'wiz*. In Agra, to a degree inconceivable in Delhi, which was ruined by the transfer thither of the capital from Calcutta, the visitor is particularly conscious of departed glory: washed by the tides of history, these waters have since receded with the result that the wrecks of former grandeur bestrew the environs (plates 4-5). The reason why gardens were located on the banks of rivers is simple: water was raised to the level of the enclosure wall by a Persian wheel standing on the bank; thence by an aqueduct the water was conducted to the garden, where it ran along the top of the wall in a system of terra-cotta pipes. This procedure produced the head of water necessary to work the fountains.

Over the entrance to Akbar's garden at Sikandra is written: *These are the gardens of Eden: enter them to dwell therein eternally*, which shows that Islam views history as a circular process of restoration. Once inside this garden, one is aware that more than one tradition has been at work. The basic scheme is the fourfold plot introduced by Babur: a square or rectangular area is divided into four quadrants by two axes (or the principal axis in the case of a rectangular area) which carry the water for the



Plate 4. Agra. A ruined tomb on the outskirts, the sole relic of a vanished funerary garden such as Fergusson describes.

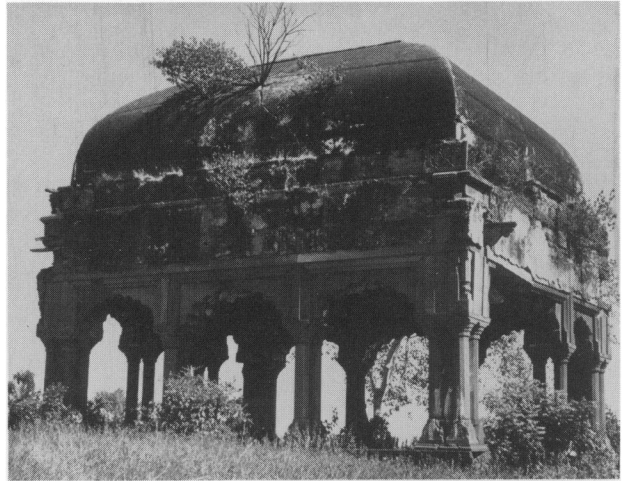


Plate 5. Agra. Another ruined tomb on the outskirts of town. Collapsed floor enables one to see right into the vault, showing the duplicative principle in burial introduced from Central Asia by the Mughals.

irrigation of the garden under gravitational pressure from the raised walks. Depending on the area to be enclosed the quadrant can be divided or subdivided indefinitely so that the same module is repeated on different scales. Viewed in Jungian terms, this approximates to a mandala, an archetype that predates Islam. In Persian ceramics datable approximately to 4,000 B.C. the world appears as a bowl divided into quadrants, with the Spring of Life at the center, whose waters flow out to fertilize the four quarters of the globe. This is the basic plan of the Islamic garden, except that in the latter a pavilion has supplanted the spring. This pre-Islamic, but Islamized, scheme has much in common with another, which is Vedic: in Aryan villages two diagonal thoroughfares intersected at a spot marked by a tree, underneath which the elders sat; the quarters served to separate the castes. In Hindu mythology this tree, the Tree of Knowledge, with Naga, the holy watersnake, coiled around its roots, springs from a mound; the mound is the Mount of Meru, down whose slopes, from a hidden spring, water runs out to the four cardinal points. The same tree appears as a stone umbrella (*chahtri*) atop Buddhist stupas. At Sikandra the entire garden is laid out on a cosmic cross, with the four entrances facing the cardinal points and the tiered tomb at the center replacing the mountain.¹³ Other artificial mountains like Anghor Vat and Borobudur are similarly oriented, but that is because

the Buddha faced east at the moment of the enlightenment: here it is because the qibla axis, the determinant of burial in Islam, is due west (plates 1, 6).

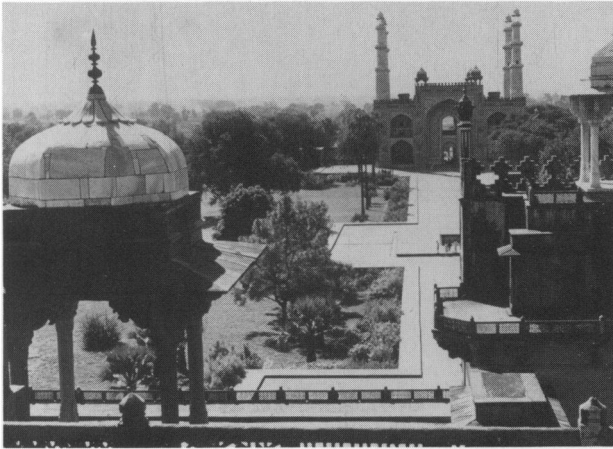


Plate 6. Sikandra. Reverse view of Akbar's mausoleum (plate 1), looking from one of the upper tiers of the mausoleum back toward the gateway.

It would be a mistake to think that all Mughal gardens were destined sooner or later to be places of sepulture. The garden in Islam embraces living space for the quick as well as the dead; indeed Islam conceives of a palace only as a series of pavilions interspersed with gardens linked to one another within an overall horticultural scheme. In an idealized, bird's-eye view of an eighteenth-century palace at Lucknow in the David Collection at Copenhagen, one sees plainly the interlocking functions of palace and garden: each has invaded the other's space; a mutual compenetration is the result (plate 7). In the Anguri Bagh, or grape garden, in the Fort of Agra, within each of the four parterres there is an intricate pattern of small interlocking beds outlined by sandstone curbs; each bed was reserved for a specific bloom, and with the curbs to control the situation, the limit of each color appeared clearly demarcated within an overall pattern of carefully calculated tonalities. Thus the Anguri Bagh was in reality a floral carpet spread at the feet of the emperor as he sat in the Khas Mahall and looked out over the courtyard. This garden also retains some of its original fence (in red Mathura sandstone), the only one of its kind to survive in India, or indeed anywhere, although at one time it was ubiquitous, as we know from Clavijo as well as from miniatures depicting garden scenes, where the cinnabar paling forms a conspicuous feature.¹⁴

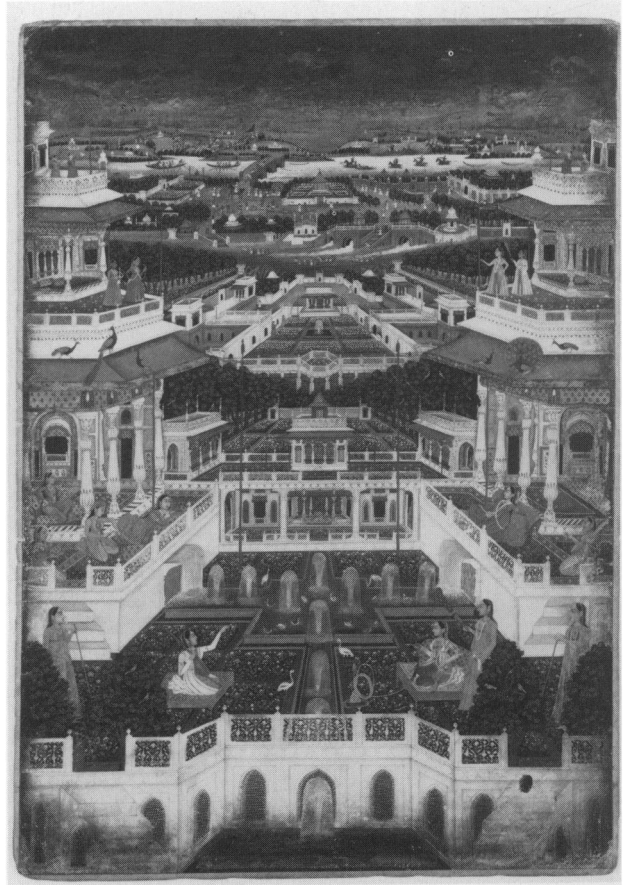


Plate 7. Aerial view of an imaginary palace at Lucknow, painted 18th century. (Photo: courtesy David Samling, Copenhagen.) Note mausolea and mosque lining the riverbank, exactly as described on pp. 132-33.

A particularly attractive garden of the type under discussion figures in a manuscript of the *Khamsah* of Nizami, dated 1595. Laila and Majnun are shown carousing in a temporary pavilion atop a Mughal fort tower overlooking a chahar-bagh, with a fountain and four dwarfed cypresses planted in confining basins and with fruit trees trained to grow around the trunks. Taking artistic license with his subject, the artist has made the wall invisible so as to afford us a glimpse of an underground pump worked by two oxen which feeds an external cistern. From there the water is conducted to a pavilion, which is the distribution point (*taqsim*) of the water system of the entire palace; the visible arrangement of tanks and channels is only part of the picture (plate 8).



Plate 8. Miniature depicting domestic garden, dated 1595. (Photo: by permission of the British Library.)

Such gardens are of necessity restricted by the domestic scale as well as the exigencies of urban planning, but *extra muros* there exist gardens of vast extent intended for only temporary occupation. An excellent little booklet by Dr. Dar, Director of the Lahore Museum, entitled *Some Ancient Gardens of Lahore*, distinguishes four kinds of garden: (a) gardens attached to palaces or *havelis*; (b) gardens which serve as substitute royal residences, for the emperor to put up at when on a journey; (c) funerary gardens surrounding purpose-built mausolea; and, lastly, (d) pleasure gardens with *baradari* in the middle, the commonest category.¹⁵

As observed earlier, the pleasure garden ultimately becomes a funerary garden, with the *baradari* adapted to its new function. The second type remains to be discussed. A good example, complete with baths and towers for the ladies of the *Zenana* to look out over the countryside, is the Shalimar Bagh at Lahore. Unfortunately this garden is now entered from the top instead of the bottom, by a postern of British date giving onto the G.T. Road. The real entrances are on the lowermost terrace, which means that today the terraces are visited in the reverse order and the aesthetic effect is lost, because one is meant to walk up to an *abshar*, not come upon it suddenly from above. A huge *abshar* connects the second and third terraces, and its waters flowed out underneath the imperial throne, cooling the person of the monarch as they did so, for the royal passions must have been not a little inflamed by the gyrations of the *nautch*-girls on the dancing platform. This platform stands in the middle of the huge tank which occupies the whole of the second terrace (plate 9). Connecting the second terrace with the third is a *sawan bhadun*, more sensational still. This takes the form of a waterfall falling down three sides of a roofless "room," which is open on the fourth side. The walls are composed of serried rows of niches in each of which, during festivities, a candle burned behind the falling water. The candles were camphorated so that sight, sound, and smell bombarded one's senses simultaneously, producing a multisensory response.

After the death of Aurangzebe in 1707 the Mughal regime was too impoverished to command gardens on this scale, but a century before the final debacle Qudsiyya Begum, wife of Emperor Muhammad Shah and mother of the unfortunate Ahmad Shah, laid out her own garden, the Qudsiyya Bagh, just outside the Kashmir gate at Delhi, in 1748. As observed before, Mustoe designed a stunning garden, not improved, I think, by Lutyens's intervention, at the viceregal residence in New Delhi.¹⁶ On a more modest scale, a small garden has been recently laid out adjacent to the Great Mosque of Delhi for the burial of Abu'l-Kalam Azad, to whom the spot was endeared on account of its associations, namely the site of the execution of the *exalté* Sarmat. Based on the intersection of two asymmetrical axes, with two arches intersecting over the tomb, this garden is a modern reinterpretation of the traditional funerary garden, complete with lily pond and solemn cypresses lining the approach to the grave. Recently in Pakistan an attractive garden in the Mughal style was laid out in Lawrence Gardens at

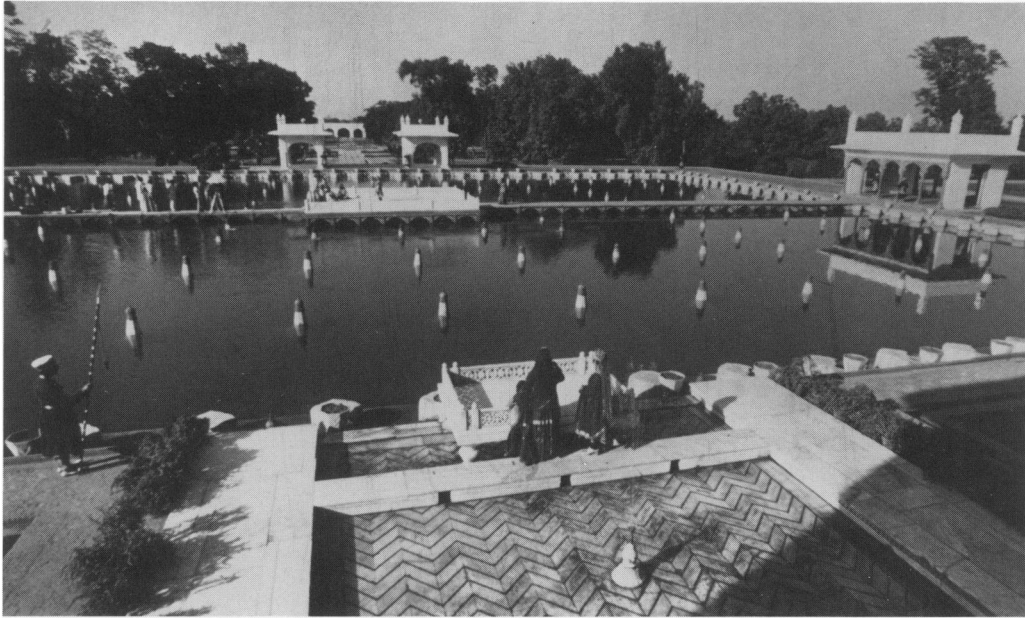


Plate 9. Lahore. Shalimar Bagh. Photographed during the reconstruction of a Mughal fête, 1975.

Lahore. Some might argue that the time and energy expended might have been better used to restore one of the ruined historical gardens in which that city abounds. In Mughal times there were some fifty gardens in Lahore, of which one was the largest garden in the world.¹⁷ This was the circular (*gol*) garden at the foot of the city walls. Probably no more than a dozen of these sites can be traced today and only two—Jehangir's garden and the Shalimar Bagh—are relatively intact. The gardens, and particularly the Gol Bagh, which encompassed the town with a five-mile belt of greenery, were the lungs through which the city breathed, for Lahore, unlike other Indo-Islamic cities, never knew the courtyard house and in Shah Jehan's time the city must have been a healthier place than it is today. The Chauburji garden, second in size only to the Shalimar—the Gol Bagh being *sui generis*—is still restorable, the site being yet unbuilt upon, unlike the Gol Bagh, which existed as late as 1947.

What hopes can be entertained for the future of the Mughal garden, both for the survival of the art form and the conservation or restoration of historic examples? Today, as a result of overpopulation and urban development policies, whose rationale is sometimes difficult to fathom, it would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that the monuments of Lahore are under greater

threat than at any time since Ranjit Singh. Across the frontier in India the situation is no better. A few years ago an expert on Japanese garden design, one Mr. Mori, was called in by the federal government to advise on a suitable site in the nation's capital for a Japanese garden. Unbelievably, the site settled on was an already existing garden, the Roshanara Bagh, the work of Aurangzebe's favorite sister, Roshanara Begum. Plans allow for the construction of a restaurant on an island, a pond, waterfalls, brooks, shelters, rockwork and Japanese-style landscaping—all on a Mughal site! Conservationists do not get much of a hearing in Third World countries; and it is only by ventilating the issues the problems of conservation raise in publications such as this that timely steps can be taken to avert tragedy such as that which threatens to overwhelm the Roshanara Bagh.

London, England

NOTES

1. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Babar* (Oxford, 1899), pp. 15-16.
2. *The Babur-nama in English*, trans. Annette P. Beveridge (London, 1912-22), fasc. 3., p. 532.
3. Donald Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (Tokyo and Rutland, Vt., 1964), p. 76.

4. This was the response to a point raised by the present writer at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Islamic gardens, Washington, D.C., April 1974. For Susan Jellicoe's paper, see "The Development of the Mughal Garden," in Elizabeth MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, eds., *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, D.C., 1976), pp. 107-29.
5. This much was clear to Clavijo when visiting a garden near Samarqand in the fifteenth century "... e por medio destas calles y arboles ibam unos andenes que travesaban toda la huerta; y en medio desta dicha huerta estaba un cerro alto de tierra que fue echada a mano alli en deredor de vergas de madera; y destas calles iban otras muy comarcadas que se podrian bien andar por ellas e mirar toda la huerta..." ("... and among these causeways and trees were pathways which crossed the entire orchard; and in the center was a high hill composed of earth thrown up by hand within a palisade of wooden stakes; and linked to these walkways were others, lined with trees, from which the whole orchard was visible..."). For the purposes of this study, I have made my own translations from Clavijo using the Madrid edition of 1943, Rodríguez González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamerlan*, ed. Francisco Lopez Estrada (Madrid, 1943); Eng. trans. by Guy le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406* (Broadway Travellers Series, Cassell: London, 1928). Le Strange (p. 216), working on the St. Petersburg edition of 1893, has produced a somewhat different version of this passage.
6. A well-researched paper by J. P. Thompson, "The Tomb of the Emperor Jahangir," *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1910-1911, pp. 12-30, establishes clearly what was on the second story of Jahangir's tomb: a simple platform enclosed by jalis, with a cenotaph, or duplicate tomb, in the middle. On the RAS painting the area in question is covered by a label reading "Maqbarat-i-Badshah Jehangir" (burial place of Emperor Jehangir). If this label could be removed there is little doubt that it would disclose a *ta'wiz*, thereby vindicating Thompson's hypothesis. This brilliant piece of research is not nearly so well known as it deserves to be, witness the visual blunder perpetrated by Volwachen on p. 85 of *Living Architecture: Islamic Indian* (London, 1970). The painting is presumably of the Ranjit Singh period, as it was donated to the society on November 17, 1849 by General Sir Claude Martin Wade, who had been in Lahore from 1823.
7. We must rely for evidence not only on paintings and the miniatures, which are a more reliable guide to how these gardens looked in their prime than is any extant garden, but on carpets. Garden carpets from Persia show a *chenar* (Oriental plane) planted in each corner so that it might protect the more delicate plants with its plenteous shade. Thus four *chenars*, one to each corner, would account for a significant area of each flowerbed, the more so since the corners were often finished off diagonally. It is probably to these trees that Clavijo (p. 154) alludes with the phrase, "... e avia unos arboles grandes e may altos que hacian muy grand sombra..." ("... and there were some large and very tall trees which produced very great shade..."). Also, referring to yet another garden, Clavijo (p. 163) says: "... e esta huerta es grande mucho, e en ella abia muchos arboles frutales e de ofros que hacian sombra..." ("... and this orchard is very big, and in it there were many fruit trees as well as others producing shade..."). See le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, pp. 216 and 227.
8. Volwachen, *Living Architecture*, pp. 93-94. For a fuller account of the frame of reference within which the funerary garden operates, s.v. "Rauda" in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (in press).
9. James Fergusson, *History of Oriental Architecture* (London, 1910), 2:289-90.
10. "Allah and Eternity: Mosques, Madrasas and Tombs," in George Michell, ed., *Architecture of the Islamic World* (London, 1978), p. 47.
11. Volwachen also points out (*Living Architecture*, pp. 83-84) Khan Khanam's tomb in Delhi.
12. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 15 (Oxford, 1908), p. 93.
13. I hasten to disclaim any originality for these comparisons, which are almost all to be found on pp. 45-46 of Constance Villiers Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals* (London, 1913). Mrs. Stuart, whose pioneer work in this field is beyond praise, would seem to have got many of these ideas from the Maji Sahiba of Bharatpur, to whom she acknowledges her indebtedness in the preface (p. xi).
14. Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamerlan*, p. 163; le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, p. 227.
15. S. F. Dar, *Some Ancient Gardens of Lahore* (Lahore, 1976), p. 6.
16. This garden is the object of an as yet unpublished study by Dr. Vivian Rich of Victoria, B.C., Canada (personal communication). There is, however, a feature ("This Stupendous Creation") published with lavish illustrations in *House and Garden* (British edition), March, 1985, pp. 144-47.
17. Lest this be deemed a notional figure, begotten of exaggeration and a partial imagination, I subjoin a list lifted from Dr. Dar's booklet:
Pre-Mughal Gardens: Bagh-i-Malik Ayyaz; Bagh-i-Zanjani, Bagh Shah Isma'il; Bagh-i-Qutb al-Din Aibak; Bagh-i-Shah Kakuchisti, Bagh-i-Daulatabad.
Mughal Gardens: (i) Babur and Humayun period: Naulakha Bagh; Bagh-i-Kamran. (ii) Akbar period: Bagh Dilafruze; Bagh-i-Khan-i-Azam; Bagh-i-Andjan; Raju Bagh; Bagh Malik Ali Kotnal; Bagh Mirza Nizam al-Din Ahmad; Bagh Zain Khan Kokaltash. (iii) Jehangir period: Bagh Mirza Mu'min Ishaq Baz; Bagh Shams al-Din; Bagh-i-Anarkali; Bagh-i-Dilkusha (funerary garden of Jehangir). (iv) Shah Jehan period: Fa'id Bagh; Bagh Bilal Shah, Shalimar Bagh; Bagh Hoshiar Khan; Bagh-i-Badr al-Din Shah 'Alam Bukhari; Bagh-i-Hadrat Sayyid Mahmud; Chauburji Bagh; Bagh-i-Asaf Jah; Bagh-i-Nur Jehan; Parviz Bagh; Mushki Mahall (funerary garden of Nawab Mian Khan); Bagh Abu'l-Hasan; Bagh Khwaja Ayyaz; Bagh Nusrat Jang Bahadur; Bagh-i-Ishan; Bagh 'Ali Mardan Khan. (v) Aurangzebe period: Gulabi Bagh; Bagh-i-Mahabat Khan; Bagh Shah Chiragh; Bagh Mullah Shah Badakshi. (vi) Late Mughal period: Bagh Begum Jan; Badami Bagh; Bagh Pir Muhammad Adalti; Bagh Mir Manno (or Bagh Nawab Jani); Bagh Sayyid 'Abd Allah Khan; Gol Bagh. (vii) Other Mughal gardens: Bagh-i-Dilkusha; Bagh-i-Dilaram; Bagh-i-Dilamiz; Anguri Bagh; Anar Bagh (Dar, *Ancient Gardens of Lahore*, p. 6.).